

ASIAN ANALYST

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Editorial Committee
Chairman: Dr. S. N. Deo
Editor: Dr. K. C. Bhattacharya
Associate Editor: Dr. D. K. Bhattacharya
I. INTRODUCTION
Beyond Friendship

Stalin, addressing the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October, 1954, spoke of the relationship between the Russian and foreign Communist Parties in the following words:

"Naturally our Party cannot remain in debt to the fraternal parties, and it must in turn support them and also their people in their struggle for liberation, in their struggle for the preservation of peace." As is known, that is precisely what it does. Of course, it was very difficult to fulfil this honourable rôle so long as the "shock brigade" was all alone and had to carry out this leading rôle practically single-handed. But this belongs to the past. Now things are altogether different. Now, when from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary new "shock brigades" have appeared in the shape of the People's Democratic countries—now it has become easier for our Party to fight, and indeed work is going with a swing.

The Indian Communist weekly *New Age*, in an article (December 26, 1954) commemorating the 75th anniversary of Stalin's birth quoted at length from his speech, which is also studied as a "precious testament" in Communist China. Yet in preceding issues of *New Age* (December 5 and 19) Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India strove anxiously in two articles to represent the idea of international Communism as just "an old bogey." At Lucknow on December 12, Mr. Nehru was

The "shock brigade of world revolution" is an official synonym for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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reported as saying that "if the pattern of international Communism were not what it was to-day, there might have been less fear and suspicion in the world." According to Ghosh this is nonsense. All Communist Parties, he allows, are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and subject to "fraternal bonds that help the interests of the people in all countries"; yet revolution has never been for export.

Ghosh's contention is hardly borne out by the speeches made at a rally held in Northern Viet Nam on January 21 under the joint auspices of the Viet Nam National United Front, the Viet Nam-Soviet Friendship Association and the Viet Nam-China Friendship Association. After the Foreign Minister, Pham Van Dong, had expressed gratitude for the support given for Northern Viet Nam both during the war "and in the present struggle," Hoang Quoc Viet (Vice-Chairman of the United Front) noted that these friendships had a deep-rooted origin and that the (Viet-Minh) Revolution had been closely connected with the development of the world revolutionary movement.

Simultaneously in Japan, Communist broadcasts have been reminding comrades that they are not alone in their struggle. On January 20 *Radio Free Japan*, broadcasting from the neighbourhood of Peking, summarised from the Cominform journal, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* (published in Bucharest and checked in Moscow) a long article by D. N. Aidit, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, on the need for collective leadership, ideological and organisational reform, and incitement of the peasants—matters to which the Japanese Communists are now attending.

In Indonesia the award of a Stalin Peace Prize to Professor Priyono—the first Indonesian to receive one—and his election as an official of the newly-created Indonesia-China Friendship Association, form part of the same pattern. For as *Moscow Radio* (December 21) observed: "This

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award means that the struggle of the Indonesian people enjoys the recognition and extensive support of the democratic international public" (that is, international Communism).

An Axis Manifesto

That the leadership of this public must now be accepted as coming jointly—and indivisibly—from Moscow and Peking was affirmed when the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association opened its second national conference on December 28 in Peking. The association is the largest mass organisation in China and its first aim, according to its new Constitution, is to "develop and solidify friendly relations between China and the Soviet Union." Speakers at the meeting agreed upon China's need to learn more intensively from the U.S.S.R. in all fields. Mme. Soong Ching-ling, who made the opening speech, held up for all to see new China's vision of herself as part of a fortified "shock brigade."

The very existence of the People's Republic of China has changed the political face of Asia and lifted to new heights the liberation movements among peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Now each economic and cultural advance of the Chinese people will further illuminate the minds of those still exploited and dependent, making it clear that real salvation lies only along the path of true independence and of association with those States which offer true friendship.

Here the use of the words "liberation," "colonial and semi-colonial," "independence," etc., is a device used by Communist publicists to conceal the true intention of the Communist international conspiracy; but the intention sooner or later to force a choice upon free peoples is clear enough. Mme. Soong went on to indicate the position of "peaceful co-existence" in Communist strategy. In the meantime, she said, the Soviet Union, China and

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all the peoples' lands unceasingly strive for relations based on the principle of peaceful co-existence." Afterwards the strife will be redirected: five years of Sino-Soviet alliance, she declared, "have begun to bear out the prophetic words of Chairman Mao Tse-tung: this great unity, will inevitably influence not only the prosperity of two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, but also the future of all mankind. . ."

The *Peking People's Daily* of January 5, in a leading article on the Asian-African Conference, to be held at the end of April in Indonesia, said:

"It should be pointed out in particular that the Soviet union is a country situated in both Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union has made unflagging efforts in all directions to promote peace in the Asian-African region and to support the national rights and economic development of the overwhelming majority of people."

In other words, Sino-Soviet friendship is harnessed to the Communist policy of intervention in the affairs of free nations to promote world revolution.

II. COMMUNISM IN OPERATION

The Cult of Security

On December 31, 1954, Peking published three sets of regulations which, by standardising much that has already been in practice in the large cities of China, carry Government and police control to the heart of civil life. They govern the setting up of "Residents' Committees" (urban mass organisations), of "Street Offices" (urban governments) and of "Public Security Stations" (police).

The Residents' Committees, comprising 100-600 householders living in the same neighbourhood, are being founded to "mobilise residents to respond to Government

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appeals and obey the law." They also have other duties, ranging from welfare work to mass security and informing. The Street Offices, to be set up in city areas with a minimum population of 50,000, are branches of local governments with the task of "guiding the work of Residents' Committees" and carrying out superior orders "on matters concerning the residents." As the *People's Daily* (January 2) explained, the institution of Street Offices is designed to relieve the police of certain duties in civil administration and so leave them free for their proper work. "Now they will not only be able to devote their full strength to combating secret agents, ruffians, bandits and other saboteurs . . . they will also be in a position to carry out systematic social investigations and impart more initiative and planning to urban security work." In view of the elements who "continue to resist reform and frequently collude with enemy agents in the cities to step up their sabotage" the paper went on to say that such work was absolutely vital. The new establishment of Public Security Stations, to strengthen the work of the existing Public Security Bureaux, should be helpful here. Among the functions which the new regulations prescribe for them are the restriction of counter-revolutionaries, the guidance of security defence committees, and the conducting of "publicity work regarding the elevation of revolutionary vigilance."

A fourth set of regulations, those governing arrest and imprisonment, promulgated on December 20, 1954, cast a strange light on the "inviolable freedom of the person" which the Chinese Constitution guarantees. The Regulations leave certain points obscure, but clearly state the following. Public security organisations may make emergency arrests either "if circumstances call for an investigation" or in certain listed situations, e.g. (a) "if the criminal is in the act of preparing a crime"; (b) "if the criminal is planning to escape"; and (c) "if the criminal's identity

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is not clear or his residence is not definite." Those arrested must be interrogated within 24 hours, but nothing is said about producing them before a court of law.

The formal sanction here given to procedure which totalitarian régimes usually prefer to leave uncodified has evidently caused comment in China: in a leading article on January 8, the *People's Daily* especially defended the authorities' right to arrest a person before he had committed a crime. If there was evidence that he was preparing to commit one, his mail should, where necessary, be inspected and his belongings searched. Such action would not constitute an infringement of personal freedom, or democratic rights.* Had not Mao Tse-tung declared in his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* (1949) that China would never be lenient to reactionaries? Now, the building of Socialism in China had ushered in a new period in which class struggles would become more pronounced and complex than before. China must suppress the enemy more vigorously. Consequently the new regulations were to be welcomed.

Some features of this new period in Socialist construction were noted in the *Asian Analyst* (January 1955). Chinese publicity, reiterating that 600,000 agricultural producer co-operatives must be formed before the spring ploughing, has since called for intensified security and more vigorous leadership in the countryside "so as to correct the erroneous ideology and concepts of certain peasants." (*People's Daily*, January 15). In North Korea, too, the peasants' failures in class struggle, Socialist consciousness and revolutionary vigilance are deplored, and the need to establish a "production culture" among both workers and peasants is asserted.

"Revolutionary vigilance" is the Communist term for war consciousness, which must always be ready for projection

* It should be remembered that for Communists "enemies of the people" possess neither.

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against imaginary enemies both at home and abroad. In its leader of January 4 on the importance of mass education in national defence, the *People's Daily* observed: "...any indifference to enemy conspiracy, any single-minded preoccupation with construction, any loss of revolutionary vigilance will lead to grave disasters . . . Since the Resist-America-Aid-Korea war ended and the nation entered upon large-scale economic construction some people have thought that all is peace. They consider that safeguarding the fatherland and national defence is a matter for the army and does not concern them . . . this has led to somewhat muddled actions." Hence war education is needed to "promote patriotism and revolutionary heroism, and "at present it is especially important to carry out the system of compulsory military service step by step."

Straightening out the Mind

The National Committee members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.) who met from December 21-25 were probably aware that their main future tasks in China include "strengthening the unity among all nationalities, democratic strata, parties and groups, People's organisations and Overseas Chinese" (*People's Daily*, December 22), and that "the task of this united front is to unite the people of the whole nation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (*Kuangming Daily*, December 21). And since Communists consider "unity in thought" fundamental to all other unities, they must also have expected pronouncements on ideological reform. But, in the event, authority demanded not merely unity but *unanimity*. The central speech was made by Kuo Mo-jo, representing writers and artists on December 24. It deserves study in full, but some of its flavour can be conveyed in quotation:

"The central assignment of our People's democratic united front is to unite among ourselves and to unite the masses. The wider and more

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successful this unity, the more consolidated and excellent it will be. However, the best method for the expansion and consolidation of our unity is to strengthen to the utmost the unanimity in our thinking . . .

"In his opening speech at the second session of the first National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. on June 23, 1950, Chairman Mao said: 'The method of criticism and self-criticism is an excellent method for providing us with impetus for cleaving to truth and rectifying error; and the only correct method for the entire revolutionary population of a People's State is to conduct self-education and self-reform . . .' The facts have proved that this ideological reform is a process in the study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, a long and arduous ideological struggle . . . This point was clearly proved in our current study and criticism of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*.^{*} The subjective erroneous ideologies of the bourgeois class not only have their firmest base in the minds of old people, but also hold captive some people who think they are standing under the banner of Marxism. Such persons have discarded criticism and have advanced and lauded these ideologies. When a new force sprang up, using the theory of Marxism-Leninism for conducting sharp criticism, they attempted to suppress it. This fact has given me the deep conviction that it is more difficult to eradicate the intangible domestic and foreign enemies than the tangible ones. If the tangible enemies are allowed to remain in our minds, they are highly capable of conducting inner subversive activities.

"Hu Shih,[†] with whom we are familiar, is a good specimen of such a person. For the past 30 years, he has been selling pragmatism in the service of American imperialists . . . The political life of Hu Shih is completely finished, but the poison bequeathed by his ideologies is still deeply embedded. Therefore, it is necessary for us to destroy thoroughly the poison of the reactionary ideologies of Hu Shih . . .

"All classes will naturally die, so the class nature of everyone will be changed. The quicker the change and the earlier the death, the better it will be for the building of our great Socialism."

A guide to the implications of Kuo's speech has been provided by the ex-Communist poet, Czeslaw Milosz, in his book *The Captive Mind*. Here the Communists' demand for intellectual servitude and their technique for imposing it are fully explained. The technique was worked out in Europe, but "Marxism-Leninism is universal truth," and Kuo's directive confirms that his Government intends to apply it even more thoroughly in China.

* See the *Asian Analyst*, December, 1954, pages 1-2.

† Dr. Hu Shih, leader of the Chinese renaissance, had a dominant influence on the modernisation of the national language.

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...and the Chinese Communists have been compelled to make a retreat from their ultra-Leftist policies. This article discusses the situation in Indonesia, Japan, and India.

III. COMMUNISM IN OPPOSITION

No More Adventurism

The election tactics which the Communist Parties are pursuing in **Indonesia** and **Japan** have now been extended to the Indian State of **Andhra**, where Communists, in an all-out effort, propose to contest 174 seats out of 196 in the February-March general elections. The Andhra Communists, who conducted the Telengana insurrection in 1948-49, and are the authors of a thesis urging the consolidation of peasant resistance to authority, are the most violent group within the Communist Party of India. But in India, no less than in Indonesia and Japan, the Communists recognise that "former inappropriate acts have obstructed unity with the masses," and now it is for "a lovable Party" that votes in all three countries are invited. "The Communists have made it clear that they will depart from their ultra-Leftist adventurism of the past," (*Radio Free Japan* [Communist], January 17, 1955).

This decision has not sufficed to gain Communists organised Left-wing support of the kind they aim at. In Indonesia, the Socialist Party opposes them; and both the Left and Right-wing Socialist parties of Japan have demanded that potential allies draw a clear line between themselves and the Communists. For while the latter freely usurp the political platforms of all the above-named parties, Socialist leaders show increasing resistance to joining united fronts; the consequences are becoming too well known. In Andhra, where the Communist Party feels itself strong, no such temporary allies are even sought. The Communists, therefore, seek mass support, and to obtain it are prepared to enrol mass membership. In this struggle, according to Aaidit, "every effort must be

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made to establish unity of action and co-operation between the Communist masses, the Nationalist masses and the Islamic masses based upon a definite concrete programme. These joint mass actions will, at the same time, unmask the real intentions of these Nationalist and Islamic Parties and leaders . . ." This policy of mass recruitment has its disadvantages; as Aedit wrote, "our Party will become weak and impotent if it does not consolidate itself," but "we are compelled to forge ahead with what is at hand" (Cominform journal, December 31, 1954). Purges can always take place later, and, in many countries, there is no compulsion to do so. Between the other two, **Canvassing the Peasants** is clearly the best way. Mass support means primarily peasant support. The fact is painful for Communists and progress is slow. Nevertheless, their approach to the peasants is notably less clumsy than before. While their platform naturally centres on land reform, past failures have taught them that their slogans must be chosen with care. Contemptuously recognising that the peasants "cannot understand" an agrarian revolution in any form other than that the lands of the landlords should be distributed to them as their own private property, Aedit (in the Cominform journal, October 15, 1954) reported a unanimous Party decision to replace slogans mentioning collectivisation (and even nationalisation) with others offering individual land ownership. These naturally give no hint at all of the coercive transformation of peasants into rural factory workers which Communists carry out when in power (soiling and all). But, in view of the land reform measures which the Governments are already applying in these countries, even "Land to the Tiller" has lost much of its rallying power! The Communists accordingly denounce all non-Communist land reform movements, especially those providing for compensation, as fraudulent or imaginary (i.e., unmarked by class struggle). In India, for example, the Communist

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Party has characterised the Congress Government's measures for the reform of land tenure, as "continuing and further intensifying the pauperisation of the peasantry." "Bhaôdan (the movement for voluntary land giving) is recognised as an obstacle to Communist organisation among the peasants—as "preventing the strengthening and development of the organisation and struggle of the peasant masses . . ." In **Burma** the Communists have recognised that the Government's programme of social and agrarian reform challenges their claims to represent the peasantry, and have denounced the *Pyidawtha* (welfare) schemes. The Communist Parties are putting forward detailed programmes of their own, which feature a cynical support for squatters as well as the usual postponement of compensation to middle-men, moratoria on poor peasants' debts, and the free distribution of confiscated land.

Communists as Partners

"Socialism, unlike totalitarian Communism, does not believe in throwing overboard all scruples, nor does it believe that the ultimate victory would wash away all the deceit and disruption practised in the battle." These words are taken from a 15-point resolution on common Asian problems approved at the Asian Socialist Conference in Rangoon. In a discussion inspired by this conference and printed in *Asia International Information* (January 1, 1955), the Indonesian Socialist Party (P.S.I.) Executive outline the circumstances which have made co-operation with the Communists in the countryside impossible for them.

"The Indonesian Communist Party," they write, "controls a peasant organisation called the *Barisan Tani Indonesia* (B.T.I.)—using it mainly for its own political purposes, at present particularly to further the Communist Peace Movement . . . As for the Indonesian Socialist Party, after the liberation of the country it formed a common front with the Communist Party, the B.T.I. and the Socialist Youth

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(*Permuda Sosialis*), the so-called Left wing . . . The B.T.I. became a fighting ground in the struggle between Socialists and Communists after the Socialists had left the united front with the Communists." Finding that no constructive work could be done in the B.T.I., the P.S.I. has set up its own peasant organisation.

Whatever the outcome of these Communist tactics, no results will be final. The experience gained in Andhra, Indonesia and Japan will be pooled for application by Communists elsewhere.

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IV. CURRENT QUOTATIONS

"I am a philosopher. The duty of a philosopher is to propagate Marxist-Leninist philosophy and to wage a determined, relentless struggle against reactionary capitalist philosophies of all shades and colours."

Professor Chin Yueh-lin, *People's Daily*, Peking,
December 25, 1954.

"I feel that the minds of many of the older people are really in question. The outer layer of their fore-brains is like the suitcase of a world tourist, plastered with hotel labels. This sort of people are really in a mess, having little room in their minds for new things and new ideas. Although they have studied Marxism and Leninism for five years, they have not learnt much. Many old people often say, 'My ideological standard is low.' That, I think, is not just modesty."

Kuo Mo-jo, quoted in *People's Daily*, Peking,
December 9, 1954.

"... It should also be appreciated that ideological reform is not a simple process, but requires a long, arduous course of struggle. Progress one day may be followed by new problems another day. On one subject the mind may be straightened out, but on another it may get confused again."

People's Daily leader, Peking, December 22, 1954.

"For the study of Soviet methods, we will not only study modern and progressive scientific techniques, but the more

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important thing is to master the basic spirit. We have learned from the progress of Soviet scientific work that, only under the ideological leadership of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism, can we keep scientific research from going astray." 11

Li Szu-kwang, representative of Chinese scientists, in a speech to the C.P.C.C. reported by the *New China News Agency*, December 23, 1954.

"Some comrades, influenced by spontaneous capitalist developments, harbour doubts about the correctness and necessity of requisitioning and rationing of grain. They hold that this is 'restricting the peasants too tightly'."

in *Southern Daily*, Canton, December 5, 1954.
A certain Li Szu-kwang, a representative of Chinese scientists, in a speech to the C.P.C.C. reported by the *New China News Agency*, December 23, 1954.
So, when Pandit Nehru attacks us for indulging in violence, we do not think it necessary to go into any argument over it." Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, Communist Party of India, in *New Age*, December 5, 1954.

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